

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 21197 01 OF 03 201926Z

70

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 BIB-01 /081 W
----- 079095

R 201911Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3154

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 21197

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, FR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21197 01 OF 03 201926Z

SUBJECT: ECPC: FURTHER FRENCH REACTIONS.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: OVER A FORTNIGHT HAS PASSED SINCE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EAST AND WEST ADJOURNED THEIR CONCLAVE IN BERLIN. SINCE THEN THE SPECTRUM OF FRENCH REACTIONS HAS REFLECTED THE DIFFICULTY OF DRAWING CLEAR CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS INTRINSICALLY AMBIGUOUS EVENT. ON BALANCE ECPC HAS LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT MOSCOW HAS PAID A HIGH PRICE FOR THIS MEETING IN AGREEING TO TOLERATE THE WESTERN CPS' PURSUIT OF INDEPENDENT PATHS TO SOCIALISM. HOWEVER A NUMBER OF OBSERVERS MARK THE POINT THAT THE PCF, LIKE A NUMBER OF OTHER WESTERN PARTIES HAVE IN RETURN NOT ONLY REAFFIRMED THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO MOSCOW'S CENTRAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES FOR EUROPE BUT REMAIN LOYAL TO THE ULTIMATE COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE OF SEIZING POWER EVEN THROUGH NATIONALIST MEANS. NEVERTHELESS, AS RAYMOND ARON POINTED OUT IN THE MOST-REMARKED ON COMMENT ON ECPC IN FIGARO, THE BERLIN CONFERENCE ALSO UNDERSCORED THE INHERENT DILEMMAS OF WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES, THAT THEIR LIBERTIES (I.E., INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW) DEPEND PRECISELY ON THAT NATO PROTECTION WHICH THEY AND MOSCOW VITUPERATE. AS TO THE FUTURE, ECPC LIKE OTHER SUCH EVENTS, WILL BE JUDGED BY ITS AUTHORS LESS BY ITS INTERNAL LOGIC THAN BY THE RESULTS PRODUCED, I.E., THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE "INDEPENDENT" ROAD TO COMMUNISM PAYS OFF. THE CABLE ENDS WITH COMMENT AND A RECOMMENDATION. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE ECPC ADJOURNED OVER TWO WEEKS AGO, OBSERVERS HERE AS ELSEWHERE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MAKE THEIR FIRST ASSESSMENTS OF ITS RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS. AMONG THE MOST CAUTIOUS WERE THE GOF AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MAJORITY WHO MAINTAINED JUDICIOUS RESERVE IN COMMENTING ON ECPC. EVEN THEIR PRESS ORGANS RESTRICTED THEMSELVES TO STRAIGHT REPORTING ON THE SPEECHES IN EAST BERLIN, ALTHOUGH POINTING OUT POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AND THOSE OF CARILLO, BERLINGUER AND MARCHAIS. THEY NEVERTHELESS CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION THAT (A) FOR ALL THE LABORIOUS PREPARATIONS, THE CONFERENCE PRODUCED LITTLE THAT WAS CONCRETE, AND (B) THAT THE USSR WAS FORCED TO PAY DEARLY FOR IT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21197 01 OF 03 201926Z

3. THE BULK OF THE NON-COMMUNIST PRESS ALSO TENDED TO SEE ECPC AS A SETBACK TO MOSCOW'S LEADERSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT AND AS A REAFFIRMATION OF THE BASIC IDEOLOGICAL AND FOREIGN POLICY PURPOSES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHO PARTICIPATED. EVEN SO, ANALYSES VARIED WIDELY. THERE WERE SOME WHO SAW IN ECPC THE FINAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT,

WHICH HAS FOR TOO LONG SOUGHT TO PAPER OVER MISTAKES AND
INTRINSIC CONTRADICTIONS. THE MAJORITY, HOWEVER, TOOK
A LESS DEFINITE VIEW. MOST SAW ECPC AS A "TURNING
POINT," UNDERLINING THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN PARTIES CON-
TROLLED BY MOSCOW AND THOSE NO LONGER WILLING TO ACCEPT
ITS TACTICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE PURSUIT OF POWER. AS
AURORE'S ANALYST PUTS IT, ECPC ASSURED THE PARTICIPATING
PARTIES A CERTAIN LIBERTY OF ACTION TO EXPLOIT, AS BEST
THEY COULD, THEIR NATIONAL TRADITIONS, ALTHOUGH THE
FINAL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE REMAINS PROLETARIAN TAKE-OVER
IN ALL COUNTRIES. FIGARO MADE THE SAME POINT, BY SAYING
THAT THE DIALOGUE WHICH WAS STARTED IN EAST BERLIN WILL
CHANGE NOTHING IN THE ULTIMATE DESIGNS OF ALL AND SUNDRY,

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 21197 02 OF 03 201936Z

70

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 BIB-01 /081 W

----- 079171

R 201911Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3155

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 21197

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21197 02 OF 03 201936Z

BUT WILL PERMIT MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF
MARXIST-LENINIST LAWS.

4. RAYMOND ARON BEST ARTICULATED THE UNDERLYING AMBIGUITIES. ARON ADMITS THAT IT IS TOO EARLY TO JUDGE WHETHER ECPC WILL OPEN THE WAY TO A NEW "INTERNATIONAL" OR NOT. TOO MANY FACTORS WILL IMPINGE ON THIS QUESTION IN THE FUTURE. IT IS EVEN TOO EARLY TO JUDGE WHETHER THE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES CAN IN THE LONGER TERM CONCEIVE OF A SOCIALISM RESPECTFUL OF HUMAN LIBERTIES, SINCE THEY HAVE NOT YET RESOLVED THEIR MOST BASIC DILEMMA, THAT THEIR "FREEDOM" FROM MOSCOW DEPENDS ON "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" AND THE "AGGRESSIVE NATO BLOC." AND, IF ONE TAKES BERLINGUER'S RECENT COMMENT SERIOUSLY THAT THE NATO AREA OFFERS MORE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, THE QUESTION EVEN ARISES WHY THE WESTERN PARTIES RETAIN THEIR FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO MOSCOW'S IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ENDS.

5. THE SOCIALIST VIEW: THE PS HAS REACTED WITH GOOD PREDICTABILITY TO THE CONFERENCE. WITH NO MORE THAN EXPECTED MALICE, THE SOCIALISTS HAVE BEEN POINTING OUT THAT:

ASSERTING THE EXISTENCE OF SEVERAL NATIONAL PATHS
TO SOCIALISM IS A FAR CRY FROM PRACTICING THEM;

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHO SIGNED THE CONFERENCE
DOCUMENT HAVE UNEQUAL AND SPOTTY RECORDS IN THE
SUPPORT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY GOALS;

THE ONLY REAL TEST OF ANY PARTY'S "NATIONALISM" IS
THE WAY IN WHICH IT REACTS TO SPECIFIC NATIONAL

PROBLEMS.

THUS, AS ONE PS OFFICIAL COMMENTED, UNTIL THE PCF IS WILLING TO MAKE A NEW PUBLIC STATEMENT, APPROVED BY ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE, OF ITS POSITION ON NATIONAL DEFENSE ISSUES, THE SOCIALISTS ARE UNWILLING TO CONCEDE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN THE PCF.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21197 02 OF 03 201936Z

6. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PS SAYS IT IS ENCOURAGED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PCF IS TRYING TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF CHANGE, OF COMMITMENT TO FRENCH NATIONAL GOALS AND OF DISTANCE FROM MOSCOW. "EVEN IF THE PCF DOESN'T MEAN IT AT ALL," SAID PS SECRETARY LIONEL JOSPIN, "IT IS IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING ITS MEMBERS THINK THAT IT'S MOVING IN A GIVEN DIRECTION -- AND THAT ALWAYS CREATES A KIND OF MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN." WHILE THIS REASONING MIGHT WELL APPEAR SOPHISTIC AT FIRST GLANCE, THE PS ARGUES THAT IMAGE IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT TO THE PCF THAN IS REALITY. A FREQUENTLY-HEARD PS ANALOGY USED TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT IS THAT THE PCF HAD GIVEN UP ON THE IDEA OF A DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN FRANCE AT SOME POINT IN THE EARLY FIFTIES. UNWILLING TO TAKE THE CHANCE OF APPEARING TO BE LESS OF A WORKERS' PARTY, IT TOOK SOME TWENTY YEARS FOR THE PHRASE TO DISAPPEAR FROM THE PCF CODEX. IN THE PRESENT CASE, THE PS BELIEVES THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE TRYING TO REACT WITH SOME VIGOR TO GET RID OF THE SOVIET ALBATROSS.

7. THE PCF MARKED THE CONCLUSION OF THE ECPC WITH A STATEMENT BY ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON JULY 6, IN WHICH IT DEDICATED ITSELF TO DEVELOP ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND WITH OTHER FORCES DISPOSED TOWARD UNITED OR CONVERGENT ACTION TOWARD THE "CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS" ON THE BASIS OF TWO "INDISSOCIABLE" PRINCIPLES: OF ITS (THE PCF'S) INDEPENDENCE, AND OF THE "INTERNATIONAL RECIPROCAL SOLIDARITY" TO WHICH IT IS PROFOUNDLY ATTACHED. THE MEANING OF THESE TWO PRINCIPLES IS ELABORATED IN TWO LONG, DISTINCT PARAGRAPHS. IN THE FIRST, THE PCF UNDERLINES ITS DEDICATION TO THE FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES ENDORSED AT BERLIN, WHERE THE 29 PARTICIPATING PARTIES CONFIRMED THEIR "AVANT-GARDE" ROLE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE, DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE SECOND IS DEVOTED TO RECORDING THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE "ALSO UNDERLINED" THE "INDEPENDENCE" AND "SOVEREIGNTY" OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONDUCT OF THEIR POLICIES AND THE DIVERSITY OR ROADS TOWARD SOCIALISM. THE STATEMENT DOES NOT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PARIS 21197 02 OF 03 201936Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 21197 03 OF 03 201942Z

70

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 BIB-01 /081 W

----- 079257

R 201911Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3156

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 21197

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21197 03 OF 03 201942Z

CONSIDER THAT QUESTION RAISED BY SOME NON-COMMUNIST COMMENTATORS AS TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE CPS' ENDORSEMENT OF SOVIET "PEACE" OBJECTIVES WILL COME IN CONFLICT WITH FRENCH INTERESTS, WHICH THE PCF AS A "NATIONAL" PARTY IS ALSO PLEDGED TO DEFEND.

8. COMMENT: THE ECPC, SINCE ITS INCEPTION, HAS AROUSED INTENSE DEBATE AMONG COMMUNISTS, SOMEWHAT BEMUSED OBSERVATION FROM THE SOCIALISTS AND VERY LITTLE REACTION AT ALL FROM THE PUBLIC. THE FRENCH HAVE SEEN OTHER CONFERENCES, THE ISSUES ARE EXTREMELY COMPLEX AND DEMAND A GREAT DEAL OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBTLETY AND COMMITMENT TO UNDERSTAND AND THE AVERAGE FRENCHMAN, EVEN IF HE IS WELL-INFORMED, ONLY SEEMS INTERESTED IN THE EFFECT THE CONFERENCE WILL HAVE ON THE PCF. AND THAT PERCEPTION HAS NOT YET BEEN MEASURED BY POLLSTERS. HOWEVER, JUDGING FROM PREVIOUS POLLS, ONLY SOME 50 PERCENT OF THE FRENCH WILL BELIEVE THAT THE PCF HAS MADE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE. WHILE THAT RESULT IS PERHAPS HIGHER THAN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BEFORE THE UNION OF THE LEFT HELPED TO "LEGITIMIZE" THE PCF IN THE EYES OF MANY FRENCHMEN, IT WILL STILL NOT TRANSLATE TO ANY NEW SUPPORT FOR THE PCF.

9. IN OUR OWN VIEW ECPC HAS ON THE WHOLE CONFIRMED THE PCF'S NEW POSTURE DOMESTICALLY AND VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION, BOTH IN ENDORSING ITS NEW DESCRIPTION OF ITSELF AS AN "INDEPENDENT" PARTY, ALIGNED WITH "EURO-COMMUNISM" AND ALSO IN UNDERSCORING THE CONTINUING AMBIGUITY OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IF, AS MOST ANALYSTS TEND TO BELIEVE AND THE PCF'S OWN POST-ECPC STATEMENT SUGGESTS, THE PCF CONTINUES TO CONSIDER ITS MAINTENANCE OF SOLIDARITY IN PURSUIT OF "PEACE, DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION" (AS THESE TERMS ARE DEFINED IN THE COMMUNIST ENCYCLOPEDIA), AN "INDISSOCIABLE" COROLLARY TO ITS TACTICAL INDEPENDENCE, THEN THE PCF, LIKE OTHER CPS IN THE WEST, WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH DILEMMAS. IT WILL CLEARLY BE DIFFICULT TO SERVE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST "PEACE" CAUSE AND THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF FRANCE WITHOUT INCURRING CONFLICTS. IT IS

IN THIS DILEMMA THAT THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE PCF ARE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21197 03 OF 03 201942Z

LIKELY TO BE ENCOUNTERED, AS IT TRIES TO PERSUADE ITS
MEMBERSHIP THAT IT CAN BE BOTH "FRENCH" AND "INTERNA-
TIONAL COMMUNIST" AT THE SAME TIME.

10. FOLLOWING THE THOUGHTFUL ANALYSIS PRESENTED IN
BELGRADE'S 4483, WE SEE NO REASON WHY WESTERN VOICES
SHOULD NOT DRAW ATTENTION TO THESE AND OTHER CONTRA-
DICTIONS INHERENT IN THE EVOLVING INTERNATIONAL COMMU-
NIST POSITION AS THEY ARISE.
GAMMON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, PARTY MEETINGS, COMMUNISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PARIS21197
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760279-0346
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760741/aaaabjjj.tel
Line Count: 402
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <05 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ECPC: FURTHER FRENCH REACTIONS.
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, FR, ECPC
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006